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N.L.M.



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SOME
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
SITUATION, DISPOSITION,
AND
CHARACTER
OF THE
INDIAN NATIVES
OF THIS
CONTINENT.

[By Anthony Benez]

I will declare the Decree: The LORD hath said unto me,
Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee. Ask of
me, and I shall give thee the Heathen for thine Inheri-
tance, and the uttermost Parts of the Earth for thy Pos-
session. PSALM ii. 7.

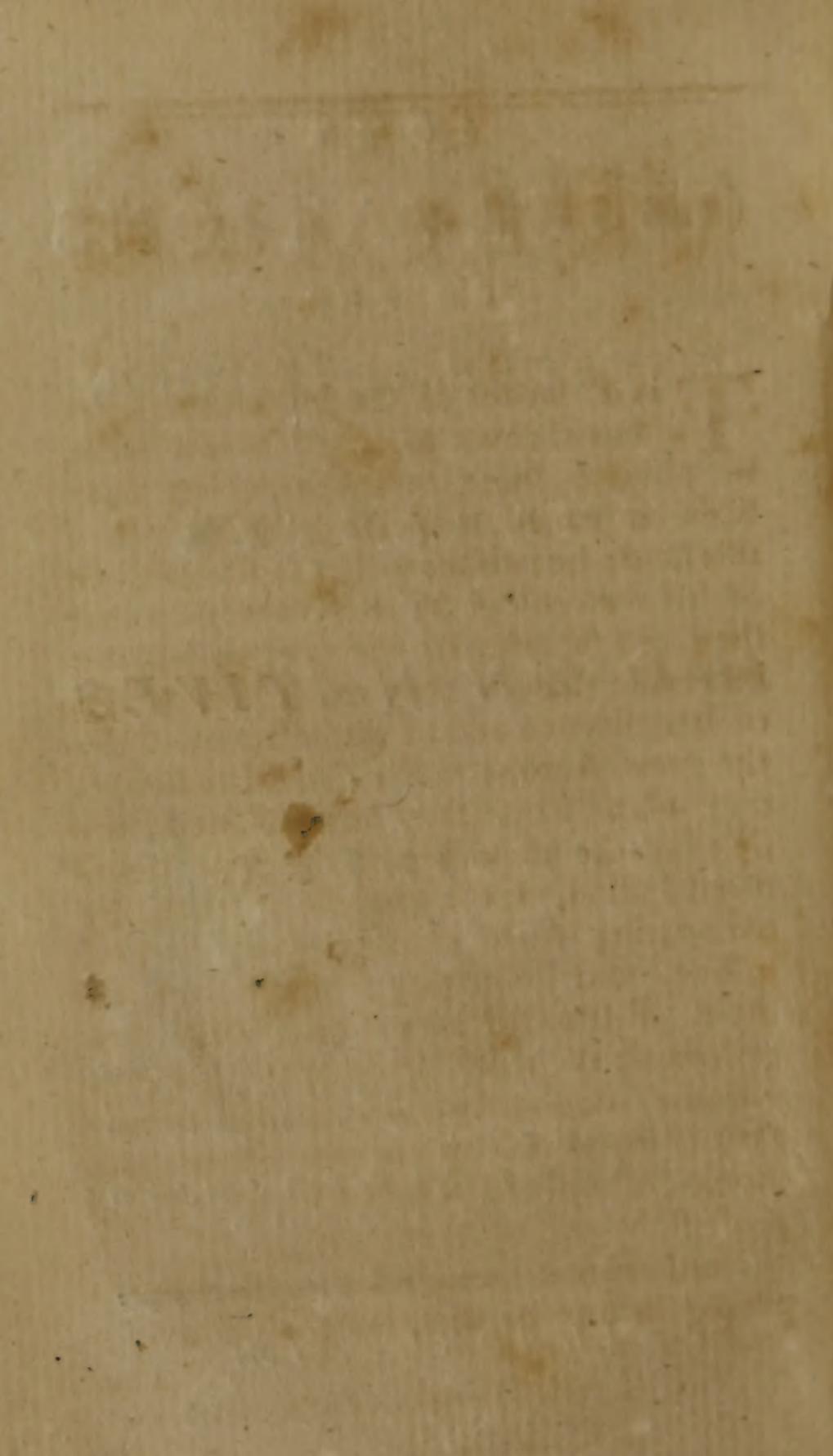
Open thy Mouth for the Dumb, in the Cause of all such as
are appointed to Destruction. PROV. xxxi. 8.

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M DCC LXXXIV.





P R E F A C E.

THE writer of the following sheets has thrown together a few facts, to obviate some mistakes which have been embraced, respecting the Natives of this land; he neither wishes to flatter those of his own colour by acknowledging that they are superior to the tawney Indian; otherwise than as they excel him in acts of beneficence and of an imitation of the great Author of the Christian Religion; whose name they have assumed; nor to exalt the character of the poor untutored Indian, at the expense of truth, by over-rating their chastity, their love of justice, and hospitality; particularly in their affectionate reception of our Ancestors on their first settlement of Pennsylvania; nor to say more in their favour than is supported by the concurrent testimonies of historians of various religious professions and different nations.

Neither is it intended to justify these people in any of their acts of cruelty:

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The motives which have induced the writer to engage in this publication are superior to party views; an apprehension of duty, and universal good-will to mankind. And if the Indian is represented to have been oppressed and injured, it is not to provoke a spirit of retaliation, nor to excite a discontent, but to state to the view of the public, wherein they have been aggrieved; and wherein they have been culpable, that the people of these states may see they have not been free from blame, in hopes that a more candid and indulgent consideration of their situation may excite in us humanity and tenderness.

Be not offended therefore if the Indian is represented as a rational being as well as ourselves, if having an immortal soul, capable of receiving the refining influence of our holy religion, it is that he may be allowed to dwell in safety, and rejoice in the opportunity, which a return of peace, may afford to instruct him in the knowledge of the true God.

If doubts should remain, whether the Indians are, indeed susceptible of those religious impressions as here mentioned; the reader is referred to the several accounts of the successful labours of the pious

ous Thomas Mayew, John Elliott, and others in New-England, published by themselves; and also a publication of a more late date, by David Brainard, of New-Jersey who resided among them several years, entitled, *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos: Or the Rise and Progress of a remarkable Work of Grace amongst a Number of Indians, in the Provinces of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania.*

SOME

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SOME
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
INDIAN NATIVES
OF THIS
CONTINENT.

SITUATE as we are on this Continent with very extensive frontiers, bordering upon a vast wilderness, inhabited by the native Indians, it becomes a subject worthy the most serious attention of every friend of mankind, every lover of his country, to be truly informed what is the situation and disposition of that people, so far as it may have an influence upon our duty as Christians, and our peace and safety as members of Civil Society: And that we may not make a rash estimate

estimate of our own importance, or of the incapacity of those people for religious improvement, the following observations and quotations are recommended to the serious perusal of every reader, as they give a view of the opinions of some of the early settlers, of different denominations, in this continent.

The first settlers of Pennsylvania, who had full opportunities of being acquainted with the nature and disposition of the Natives, and who made it a principal point to observe strict justice in all their transactions with them, have left us very favourable memorials of the long continued kindness they experienced from these people : the great disadvantages to which their ignorance and roving temper subjected them, our forefathers thought it their duty to endeavour to draw them from, by exemplary acts of benevolence and instruction ; which pious practice has since been successfully pursued, by several well disposed persons in New-England, New-Jersey, and elsewhere : several of whom have transmitted satisfactory accounts of their labours.

From these publications as well as from the remembrance of some yet living, it is evident, that the natural disposition of the

the Indians has generally been to shew kindness to the Europeans, in their early settlements; and that their mental powers are equally with our own capable of improvement; that the apparent difference in them, as well as in the Black People and us, arises principally from the advantages of our education, and manner of life.

Some writers have represented Indians as naturally ferocious, treacherous, and ungrateful, and endeavoured to establish this character of them, from some particular transaction which hath happened on special occasions: but no conclusion of their original character should be drawn from instances in which they have been provoked, to a degree of fury and vengeance, by unjust and cruel treatment from European Aggressors; of which most histories of the first settlements on this continent furnish instances, and which writers have endeavoured to colour and vindicate, by reprobating the character of those poor people.

It is a matter of fact, proved by most Historical Accounts of the trade carried on with the Indians at our first acquaintance with them, as well as in the first settlements made on this continent, that they

they generally manifested themselves to be kind, hospitable and generous to the Europeans, so long as they were treated with justice and humanity; but when the adventurers from a thirst of gain, over reached the Natives, and they saw some of their friends and relations treacherously entrapped and carried away to be sold for slaves,* themselves injuriously treated and driven from their native possessions, what could be expected but that such a sordid conduct in the Europeans, would produce a change of disposition in the Indians. The early settlers of New-Jersey have always confirmed the testimony of the Pennsylvanians, with respect to the good usage they met with

* Amongst the many instances of this kind which might be given, that are recorded by different authors, the following is most striking. viz. One Hunt an early trader with the Indians of New-England, after a prosperous trade with the Natives, enticed between 20 or 30 on board his vessel, and contrary to the public faith, clapped them under hatches, and sold them to the Spaniards at Malaga; but the Indians resented it, and revenged themselves on the next English that came on the coast. Neal's History of New-England, page 21.

with from the Indians. The writer of the History of that Province informs us, page 440, " That, for almost a century, the Natives had all along maintained an intercourse of great cordiality and friendship with the inhabitants."

It is well known that the Indians' deportment to each other is peaceable and inoffensive ; esteeming sudden anger unbecoming and ignominious ; they seldom differ with their neighbour, or do them any harm or injury, except when intoxicated by strong liquor, of which they are fond, to an enormous degree : this is the general character given of Indians, by all impartial writers.

The noted French author Charlevoix, who appears to have been deep in his inquiries into their manners and disposition, in his long travels from Quebec, thro' the lakes and down the Mississipi to Florida, informs, " That with a mein and appearance altogether savage ; and with manners and customs which favour the greatest barbarity, the Indians enjoy all the advantages of society. At first view, says he, one would imagine them without form of government, law or subordination, and subject to the wildest caprice ; nevertheless,

" less, they rarely deviate from certain
 " maxims and usages founded on good
 " sense alone, which holds the place of
 " law, and supplies in some sort, the
 " want of legal authority.* Reason
 " alone is capable of retaining them in a
 " kind of subordination; not the less
 " effectual, towards the end proposed,
 " for being entirely voluntary. They
 " manifest much stability in the engage-
 " ments they have solemnly entered up-
 " on; patient in affliction, as well as in
 " their submission to what they appre-
 " hend to be the appointment of Provi-
 " dence; in all which they manifest a
 " nobleness of soul, and constancy of
 " mind, at which we rarely arrive with
 " all our Philosophy and Religion. As
 " they are neither slaves to ambition, nor
 " interest;

* Human Nature, even in its rudest state, is possessed of a strong sense of right and wrong; a pure principle which is not confined to any name or form, but diffuses itself as universally as the sun; it is "*That light which enlightens every man coming into the world,*" John i. 9. All those who yield to its impressions are brethren in the full extent of the expression, however differing in other respects.

" interest ; the two passions which have
 " so much weakened in us those sentiments of humanity, which the kind
 " Author of Nature has engraven in the
 " human heart, and kindled those of covetousness, which are as yet generally
 " unknown amongst them."

Is it not notorious that they are generally kinder to us than we are to them ? There is scarce an instance occurs, but that they treat every white man, who comes amongst them, with respect ; which is not the case from us to them.

Their modest conduct to women who have been captured by them, is certainly worthy of commendation, much exceeding what would be expected, in like cases, from the lower class amongst ourselves.

It is also acknowledged by all impartial persons, who have been conversant with Indians, that they have generally manifested a faithfulness to the engagements they have entered into for the safety of any person they have undertaken to protect, far exceeding that to be found amongst the generality of white people ; as also in the performance of those covenants which they have confirmed by giving belts of wampum.

Charlevoix farther observes, " That
 " whoever insinuates himself in their
 " esteem, will find them sufficiently do-
 " cile to do any thing he desires ; but
 " that this is not easily gained, as they
 " generally give it to merit only, of
 " which they are as good judges as most
 " amongst us. He adds, that these good
 " dispositions are very much eclipsed by
 " the cruelty they sometimes exercise
 " upon such of their enemies, whom
 " they have devoted to death ; as well as
 " the right they almost universally claim
 " to private revenge. They consider it
 " as a point of honour to avenge inju-
 " ries done to their friends, particula-
 " rily the death of a relation ; blood for
 " blood, death for death, can only sa-
 " tisfy the surviving friends of the inju-
 " red party." Something of the same
 law of retaliation was usual amongst the
 ancient Jews and Romans.

From this principle, as well as from
 the high notions they have of military
 glory, the young Indians sometimes sud-
 denly pursue violent measures, contrary
 to the mind of their elders.

" It is, says the same Author, a feel-
 " ing experience of the Christian Re-
 " ligion, which alone is able to perfect
 " their

" their good qualities, and correct that
 " which is wrong in them ; this is com-
 " mon to them with other men ; but
 " what is peculiar to them is, that they
 " bring fewer obstacles to this improve-
 " ment, after, thro' the operation of
 " grace, they have once began to believe
 " in the great truths of the gospel."

The good disposition of the more southern Indians is sensibly set forth by De las Casas, Bishop of Chapia, who spent much time and labour in endeavouring to preserve the Indians of New-Spain, from the grievous oppression they laboured under, in his representation to the King and Council of Spain, which, with little variation, may well be applied to the natives of most parts of the continent. He says, " I was one of the first who
 " went to America, neither curiosity nor
 " interest prompted me to undertake so
 " long and dangerous a voyage ; the
 " saving the souls of the Heathens was
 " my sole object. Why was I not per-
 " mitted, even at the expense of my
 " blood, to ransom so many thousands
 " of souls who fell unhappy victims to
 " avarice or lust.——It is said, that
 " barbarous executions were necessary
 " to punish or check the rebellion of the
 " Ameri-

“ Americans ; but to whom was this
“ owing ? did not those people receive
“ the Spaniards who first came amongst
“ them, with gentleness and humanity ?
“ did they not shew more joy, in pro-
“ portion, in lavishing treasure upon
“ them, than the Spaniards did greedi-
“ ness in receiving it ? —— but our ava-
“ rice was not yet satisfied —— tho’
“ they gave up to us their land and their
“ riches, we would take from them their
“ wives, their children, and their liber-
“ ty. —— To blacken these unhappy
“ people, their enemies assert, that they
“ are scarce human creatures —— but
“ it is we ought to blush for having been
“ less men, and more barbarous than
“ they. —— They are represented as a
“ stupid people, addicted to vice ; ——
“ but have they not contracted most of
“ their vices from the examples of Chri-
“ stians ? And as to those vices peculiar
“ to themselves, have not the Christians
“ quickly exceeded them therein ? Ne-
“ vertheless it must be granted, that the
“ Indians still remain untainted with ma-
“ ny vices, usual amongit the Europe-
“ ans ; such as ambition, blasphemy,
“ treachery, and many like monsters,
“ which have not yet took place with
“ them ;

" them ; they have scarce an idea of
 " them, so that, in effect, all the advan-
 " tage we can claim, is to have more
 " elevated notions of things, and our
 " faculties more unfolded, and more
 " cultivated than theirs. —— Don't let
 " us flatter our corruptions, nor volunta-
 " rily blind ourselves ; all nations are
 " equally free : one nation has no right
 " to infringe upon the freedom of ano-
 " ther : let us do towards those people,
 " as we would have them to have done
 " to us, if they had landed upon our
 " shore, with the same superiority of
 " strength. And, indeed, why should
 " not things be equal on both sides.
 " How long has the right of the strong-
 " est been allowed to be the balance of
 " justice. What part of the Gospel
 " gives a sanction to such a doctrine.
 " In what part of the whole earth did the
 " Apostles and first promulgators of
 " the Gospel, ever claim a right over the
 " lives, the freedom, or the substance of
 " the Gentiles. What a strange me-
 " thod this of propagating the Gospel,
 " that holy law of grace, which from
 " being slaves to satan, initiates us into
 " the freedom of the children of God."

To

To this pious Bishop's testimony, may be added that of Page Dupart, in his History of Louisiana, who during a residence of sixteen years, appears to have been careful in his enquiries, relating to the nature and disposition of those several nations seated in a space of 1500 miles on both sides the Mississippi, with some of whom he was intimately conversant, whom he represents as generally endowed with good sense, kindness and moderation. He tells us, "That upon an acquaintance with the Indians, he was convinced that it is wrong to designate them Savages, as they are capable of making a good use of their reason, and their sentiments are just; that they have a degree of prudence, faithfulness and generosity, exceeding that of nations who would be offended at being compared with them.

" No people, he says, are more hospitable and free than the Indians; hence they might be esteemed an happy people, if that happiness was not impeded by their passionate fondness for spirituous liquors, and the foolish notion they hold in common, with many professing Christians, of gaining reputation and esteem, by their pe-

" less in war :" both which potent evils, have from views of policy or interest, been much encouraged by their European neighbours."

From him, as also from some other authors, we learn that some of these nations appear but little inclined to war, and there are others who absolutely refuse to take any part therein, but patiently bear the hardships which the violence of other Indians subjects them to ; of which good disposition we have had instances amongst ourselves in the case of the Moravian Indians.

Duprat observes upon the whole,
 " That there needs but prudence and
 " good sense, to persuade the Indians to
 " what is reasonable, and to preserve
 " their friendship without interruption.
 " He adds, We may safely affirm that
 " the differences we have had with them,
 " have been more owing to us than to
 " them. When they are treated info-
 " lently or oppressively, they have no less
 " sensibility of injuries than others. If
 " those who have occasion to live among
 " them, will have sentiments of hu-
 " manity, they will meet in them with
 " men."

Many

Many more authors might be quoted, declarative of the commendable qualities which have appeared in the Indians, whilst uncorrupted by an intercourse with the Europeans, and which is still the case in the disposition of those nations situated at a distance from us.* This particularly

* Note, In a late History of the British Dominions in North-America, printed in 1773, p 219, the Author speaking of the Natives, says; "The nearer the Indians of Canada are viewed, the more good qualities are discovered in them; for most of the principles which serve to regulate their conduct; the general maxims by which they govern themselves; and the essential parts of their character, discover nothing of the barbarian."

Of the Five Nation Indians, M. Delapoterie, a French Author, (wherein he very much agrees with Cadwalader Colden, late president of New-York) in his account of those Indians, says, "They are thought by a common mistake, to be mere barbarians, always thirsting for human blood; but their true character is very different: they are indeed the fiercest and most formidable people in North-America; and at the same time, as politic and judicious, as well can be conceived, which appears from the management of all the affairs they transact, not only with the French and English, but likewise with almost all the Indian Nations of this vast continent.

" Speaking

larly appears from accounts left us by Jonathan Carver, who from the year 1766, to the year 1768, inclusive, visited several Nations west of the river Mississipi, and the upper lakes. Speaking of the general temper of the Indians situate in those parts, he tells us, " They are ex-
 " tremely liberal to each other, and sup-
 " ply the deficiencies of their friends,
 " with any superfluity of their own
 " ————— That

" Speaking of the Cherokees, and other South-
 " ern Indians, page 157, he says, ' These Indi-
 " ans look upon the end of life, to be living
 " happily; and for this purpose, their whole
 " customs are calculated to prevent avarice,
 " which they think imbibers life; and nothing is
 " a more severe reflection amongst them, than to
 " say, *That a man loves his own.* To prevent the
 " rise and propagation of such a vice, upon the
 " death of any Indian, they burn all that be-
 " longs to the deceased, that there may be no
 " temptation for the parent to hoard up a su-
 " perfluity of arms, and domestic conveniences
 " for his children. They strengthen this cu-
 " stom, by a superstition, that it is agreeable to
 " the soul of the deceased, to burn all they leave,
 " and that affliction follow those who use any of
 " their goods. They cultivate no more land
 " than is necessary for their plentiful subsistence,
 " and hospitality to strangers.' "

" — That governed by the plain and
 " equitable laws of Nature, every one is
 " remarked solely according to his de-
 " serts ; and their equality, condition,
 " manners and privileges, with that con-
 " stant sociable familiarity which prevails
 " thro' every Indian Nation, animates
 " them with a pure and truly patriotic
 " spirit, that tends to the general good
 " of the Society to which they belong.
 " The Indians, he says, are not without
 " some sense of Religion, such as proves
 " that they worship the great Creator,
 " with a degree of purity unknown to
 " nations who have greater opportuni-
 " ties of improvement.

" That the pleas of Indians for mak-
 " ing war, are in general more rational
 " and just, than such as are brought by
 " Europeans, in vindication of their pro-
 " ceedings. To secure the rights of
 " hunting——to maintain the liberty
 " of passing thro' their accustomed tracts,
 " and to guard those lands which they
 " consider, from a long tenure, as their
 " own, against any infringement, are the
 " general causes of those dissensions
 " which so often break out between the
 " Indian Nations. He agrees with
 " Charlevoix, that the Indians feel in-

" juries

" juries with exquisite sensibility ; whence
 " they pursue vengeance with unremitting
 " ardour."

Whilst in the Indian Country, he was instrumental in preventing the Chipeways and Nadowessis Indians from prosecuting the war, which had during a course of 40 years, subsisted between them. This, the old Indians told him, they had long wished to put an end to ; but that their endeavours were frustrated by the young warriors, of either nation, who could not restrain their ardour when they met. They said they should be happy, if some chief of the same pacific disposition as himself, and who possessed an equal degree of resolution and coolness, would settle in the country between the two nations ; for by the interference of such a person, an accommodation, which, on their part, they sincerely desired might be brought about. From this circumstance, as well as what Duprat and others observe of the peaceable disposition of some of the Indians, we may well conclude, that susceptible as those untutored people are, to the dictates of reason, if the professors of Christianity had, by a proper use of that superior knowledge they were favoured with, honestly laboured, thro'

Divine help, to acquaint them with the nature and precepts of the Gospel; to make them sensible of that universal brotherhood that loving, meek, forgiving spirit, which the precepts and example of our Saviour call for, it would have been a matter of the greatest joy both to them and us; but the reverse has happened, except in a few particular instances; the different denominations of Christians have rather added fresh fuel to this false fire, by inciting the poor Natives, when it has suited their political purpose, to violence amongst themselves, and to become parties in the wars they have waged one against another.

A disposition to misrepresent and blacken the Indians, in order to justify, or palliate the practice of unjust and cruel measures towards them, has particularly appeared in the affecting case of those Indians, denominated Moravian Indians, settled on the Muskingum, a branch of the Ohio; who have, of late, deeply suffered on account of what they thought the peaceable spirit of the Gospel required of them. A true representation of the state and disposition of those Indians, as well as an account of this deplorable transaction, drawn from the account given

en by the survivors, appears necessary, as well to rescue those innocent sufferers from the odium which has been so unjustly cast upon them, as to prevent strangers, who may come amongst us, from forming such erroneous ideas of the Natives, as may have an influence upon the welfare of both them, and the White People.

The first gathering of those Indians into a good degree of civil and religious order, was about 30 years ago, by means of one of them, named Papunhank. The place of their residence at that time, was at Whihaloosing, on the Susquehanna, about 200 miles from Philadelphia. In the conversation they had with some serious people, in a visit to that city, about the year 1756, at a time when the province was distressed by the Indian war, they appeared to have a feeling sense of that inward change of heart which the Gospel requires, and declared their particular disapprobation of war, and fixed resolution to take no part therein ; apprehending it to be displeasing to the Great Being, who, as one of them expressed it, "*Did not make men to destroy men ; but to love and assist each other.*" They held a conference with the Governor,

in

in which they informed him, " That
 " they remembered the old friendship
 " which subsisted between their Forefa-
 thers and ours ; that they were great
 " lovers of peace, and had not taken
 " any part in the war."

They delivered three white prisoners
 which they had recovered from the other
 Indians. They desired that no strong
 drink should be given them, nor be sent
 to their town. The speaker, Papun-
 hank, appeared serious, as under a sense
 of the Divine Presence, and concluded
 with a solemn prayer, with which the
 whole audience seemed much affected.

About 13 years past, these Indians
 meeting with difficulty, from an en-
 crease of White Settlers near them,
 by which spirituous liquors were brought
 to their towns ; they removed to the
 Muskingum, a branch of the Ohio. In
 their perigrination thither, they were ac-
 companied by some of the Moravians,
 who have long resided with them, and
 by their careful attention, both to their
 civil and religious concerns, never leav-
 ing them, even in the times of their great-
 est danger and difficulty, a near and
 steady connection between them took
 place.

During the late troubles, these Indians adhering to the principles they had long professed, absolutely refused to take any part in the war, notwithstanding the threats and repeated abuses they received on that account from other tribes, particularly those parties which passed thro' their towns, in their way to our frontiers; whom they sometimes dissuaded from their hostile intentions, and prevailed upon to go back again; or warned the inhabitants of their danger. This humane conduct being considered as obstructive to the hostile proceedings of the Tribes at war, was at length made the pretence of carrying them off. Accordingly, on the 4th of August, 1781, a string of Wampum was sent by the Chief of the Wyondats, who resided at Sandusky, with a message, letting them know, He was coming with a number of warriors; but biding them be not afraid, for he was their friend. In a few days after, 220 warriors arrived, when calling a council of the head men of the three Moravian towns, they acquainted them they were come to take them away; rendering it for a reason, " That they, and " their Indians, were a great obstruction to them in their war-path." They returned

turned them this answer : " That it was
 " impossible for them to remove at that
 " time, and leave their corn behind them,
 " lest they and their children should pe-
 " rish with hunger in the wilderness."

To this, the Chief of the Wyondats, at first, seemed to attend ; but being instigated by some white men in their company, they persisted in their resolution ; and after killing many of the cattle and hogs, ripping up their bedding, and committing many other outrages, on the 28th of August, and Septmber; forced them from their three towns, in all between 3 and 400 persons ; who, after a tedious journey in the wilderness, arrived at a branch of Sandusky creek, where the body of them were ordered to remain. Some of their principal men were sent to Major Arent Schuyler De Peyster, the English Commander at fort Detroit, who commended them, as a peaceable people, and exhorted them to remain such ; but added, That many complaints had been made of them ; that they had given intelligence to his enemies, &c. he had sent for them ; but that his instructions had been exceeded, in the ill-treatment they had received ; that however he would provide for them.

Thus

Thus the matter rested till the spring, 1782, when these Moravian Indians finding corn scarce and dear at Sandusky, desired liberty to return to their settlements, to fetch some of their corn, of which they had left above 200 acres standing; which when granted, many of them went, among whom were several widows with their children, some of whom had been subjected to such extreme want, as to eat the carcases of the dead cattle and horses.

When the people at and about the Monongahela, understood a number of Indians were at the Moravian towns, they gave out, that the intention of those people was, to fall upon the back inhabitants, which ought to be prevented. Whereupon about 160 men got together, and swimming their horses over the Ohio, came suddenly upon the chief Moravian town. The first person who appeared, they shot at and wounded, when coming up to him, they found he was an half Indian, son to John Bull, one of the Moravians, by an Indian woman, to whom he is regularly married; they killed and scalped him, and proceeded to the town. The Moravian Indians, who were mostly in the fields pulling corn,

corn, did not run off, as many of them might, if they had been conscious of any offence ; but came of their own accord, into the town, at the call of the white people, who at first, expressed friendship to them ; but soon after, violently seized and bound them, when the Helpers,* of whom there were five of the most respectable, in the company, and others exhorted the younger, to submission and patience ; telling them, they thought their troubles in this world, would soon be at an end, and they would be with their Saviour. They then sung and prayed together, till they were led out, one after the other, and inhumanly slaughtered ; first the men, and then the women. Two boys, who made their escape, related these particulars. One of them lay in the heap of the dead, in a house, and was scalped ; but recovering his senses, escaped : the other, who had hid himself under the floor, was an eye-witness of this tragic scene, and saw the blood of

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the

* These are Indians who assist the missionaries in keeping good order amongst their people, and upon occasion, give public exhortations.

the slain running in a stream. These Indians before being bound, were so little apprehensive of being charged with guilt, that they informed the White People, that more of their brethren were at another town to which they accompanied them; who in like manner fell a sacrifice with them, to the barbarity of the whites. The dead bodies were afterwards burned with the houses. Before their death, they were also obliged to shew in what part of the woods they had concealed their effects, when the other Indians (as before mentioned) took them away.

Those at the third town having some intelligence of what passed, made their escape. One of the Helpers, who escaped relates, That in a conference they had with the other Helpers, when they considered what they should do in case of an attack, either from the Americans, or the Indians, who had taken part with the English, some of whom charged them of having, thro' the intelligence they gave to the Virginians, been the occasion of the slaughter of their brethren, at Gschaching; the result of their conference was, "Not to go away, nevertheless to leave each one to act according to the feeling of his own heart. He added, "That

“ That there was so much love amongst
“ them, that he had never felt the like
“ before.” This is a summary of this
dreadful transaction, as it is given by the
principle leader of those that remain.

The Account, as it stands in the Pennsylvania Gazette, of April 17th, 1782, after giving an account of the incursions of the Indians, adds, “ That the people being greatly alarmed, and having received intelligence that the Indian towns, on the Muskingum, had not moved as they had been told—a number of men properly provided, collected and rendevoused on the Ohio, opposite the Mingo Bottom, with a design to surprise the above towns —— 160 men swam the river, and proceeded to the towns on the Muskingum, where the Indians had collected a large quantity of provisions to supply their war-parties. They arrived at the town in the night, undiscovred, attacked the Indians in their cabbins, and so completely surprised them, that they killed and scalped upwards of 90, but a few making their escape, about 40 of which were warriors, the rest old women and children. About 80 horses fell into their hands,

" hands, which they loaded with the
" plunder, the greatest part furs and
" skins; and returned to the Ohio,
" without the loss of one man."

It is alledged, in vindication of this deliberate massacre, that 40 of those Indians were warriors, preparing to attack our frontiers; but this assertion contradicts it self: for had it been the case, it is not likely they would have brought their wives, with the widows, and 34 children, who were slain with them, or have suffered them with themselves, to be thus murdered, without making the least resistance, or hurt to their murderers.

Soon after the death of these Indians, about 500 men, probably encouraged by this easy conquest assembled at the old Mingo on the west side of the Ohio, and being equipped, on horseback, set on for Sandusky, where the remaining part of the Moravian Indians resided, in order to destroy that settlement, and other Indian towns in those parts; but the Wyandots, and other Indians, having some knowledge of their approach, met them near Sandusky, when an engagement ensued, in which some of the assailants were killed, and several taken prisoners, amongst whom was the Commander Col. Crawford,

ford, and his son-in-law. The Col. the Indians put to a cruel death, and killed the other, with other prisoners.

Doubtless the cruelty exercised on the Col. and the death of the prisoners taken at Sandusky, was, in a great measure, owing to the murder of the peaceable Moravian Indians, at which they expressed much displeasure.

This grievous transaction appears in a yet more afflictive point of view, when it is considered, that tho' many threats had been thrown out against those Indians, both by the English and Americans, * yet they took no step for their security,

* As the Wyondat King in his Speech told them, " My cousins, you Christian Indians, in Gnadenhutten, Shoenbrun and Salem, I am concerned on your account, as I see you live in a dangerous situation. Two mighty and angry Gods stand opposite to each other, with their mouths wide open, and you stand between them, and are in danger of being crushed by the one or the other of them, or both, and crumbled with their teeth." To which the Christian Indians answered, Uncle, &c. &c. you Shawanees our Nephews—— We have hitherto not seen our situation so dangerous as not to stay here. We live in peace with all mankind, and

curity, trusting in the care of Heaven, and the protection of the government, under which they had lived many years with due submission. But such is the corrupting nature of war, that it gradually hardens the heart, to a fearful degree of insensibility. Yet surely a time of rousing must come, when, if not given up to obduracy, equal to their delusion, the blood of these innocent people will be heavy upon all concerned in the shedding of it.

We cry out against Indian cruelty; but is any thing which Indians have done, (all circumstances considered) more inconsistent with justice, reason, and humanity, than the murder of those Moravian Indians; a peaceable, innocent people, whose conduct, even when under the scalping-knife, evidenced a dependence on Divine Help for support, as much becoming Christians, as their sufferings in support of their religious principles, and

and have nothing to do with the war. We desire and request no more, than that we may be permitted to live in peace and quiet—We will preserve your words and consider them— and send you, Uncle, an answer.

and their fidelity to the government had before manifested them to be our special friends.

In vindication of this barbarous transaction, endeavours have been used, to make us believe, that the whole race of Indians are a people prone to every vice, and destitute of every virtue ; and without a capacity for improvement. What is this but blasphemously to arraign the wisdom of our Creator, and insinuate, that the existence He has given them, is incompatible with his moral government of the world. But this must be admitted to make way for the proposal of endeavouring the universal extirpation of Indians from the face of the earth. Such, alas ! is the manner in which too many of the pretended followers, of the meek and suffering Saviour of the world, would fulfil the prophecy concerning him, “ *That he shall have the Heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost Parts of the earth for his possession.* ” And who himself declared, “ *That he came not to destroy mens’ lives, but to save them;* ” and when fainting in his last agony, under mockery and derision, conceived at once a prayer, and an apology for his murderers: “ *Father, forgive them, they know*

“ know not what they do.” Now so far as we know the prevailance of this spirit of love and forgiveness, over the pride and wrath of our hearts, so far are we the disciples and followers of Christ; and so far only, can we truly pray for, and witness the coming of His kingdom: and on the other hand, so far as we are subject to a vindictive and unsforgiving spirit, so far we are in a state of alienation from God, and reprobate concerning a true faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, which works only by love, to the purifying of the heart from every disposition of a contrary nature. Was this distinction always observed in our religious discriminations of mankind, we should get thro’ abundance of frivolous and superficial prejudices which divide the Christian World, and be convinced, that it is not the colour of our skins, outward circumstances or profession, but the state and temper of the mind and will, which makes us Jews or Gentiles; Christians or Heathens.; Elect or Reprobate, in the sight of God. That this change of heart is the sure effect of the coming of Christ’s kingdom, was evidenced in many of those Indians, whose case is here represented; who, by yielding

ing to the operations of Divine Grace, were brought to an entire reformation of mind and manners. That savage ferocity, with all those dazzling notions of honour, to be gained from the destruction of mankind, so natural to the fallen sons of Adam, have gradually melted away in these Indians, into a frame of meekness, humility and love, which supported them in that lamb-like submission, under that remarkable succession of trials and afflictions which was permitted to attend them ; whereby many of them are at length put beyond the reach of enmity.

We are told by a late Author, who appears zealous for the extirpation of all Indians, “ *That for a keg of whiskey, you might induce any Indian to murder his wife, children and best friend.* ” That this is not a just character of Indians, all, who are acquainted with that people, can testify : yet there are, doubtless, ill-disposed people amongst them, as well as amongst us, who under the dreadful power of strong drink, (which has an uncommon bad effect on them) may be led into the greatest enormities. Nevertheless, as has been mentioned, impartial men, who from good views, have

visited or resided with them, represent them in a very different light : as Charlevoix, and other French and Spanish Authors : John Elliott, Thomas Mayew; John Sergeant, in New-England ; David Brainard and others in the Jerseys ; and more lately the Moravians in different parts. These have spent much time and labour for the civil and religious improvement of the Natives, in which they all expressed satisfaction and comfort.

And it is worthy of peculiar notice, that in the wars the Indians have waged upon our frontiers, there has scarce been an instance of any of those Indians, who had made a serious profession of the Christian Religion, having been concerned in the barbarous eruptions against us.*

These

* Neal, p. 30, 2d. vol. says, "There is one thing which deserves to be taken notice of; that is, the unshaken fidelity of the Indian Converts, during the whole course of the war, whom neither persuasion nor threatenings of their countrymen, could draw from their allegiance to the English. The government had a watchful eye upon them at first, and the mob being incensed against Indians, could hardly be restrained from sacrificing the Converts to their fury." The

These have generally put themselves under the protection of their several governments ; as former instances in New-England, and the instance of the Moravian Indians, both in the former, and late war, will undoubtedly evince.

The people of Pennsylvania, and New-Jerseys, as has been already noted, have had full opportunity to experience the good disposition and kindness of the Indians, so long as they were treated with justice and humanity, as particularly appears from the many striking instances of probity, gratitude and beneficence, on record, at a time when the disparity of their numbers was so great, that they might have easily destroyed the settlers,
had

The same Author observes, That the government was so well satisfied with the fidelity of the Indians, that instead of disarming them, as was desired, the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, who were twenty to one in number to the White People, continued so faithful to their engagements, that they were supplied with all sorts of ammunition, and the defence of the Island committed to their care ; and so faithful were they to their trust, that all people that landed upon the Island, during the course of the war, were, without distinction, brought before the Governor.

had they been so minded. But so far were they from molesting them, that they were rather as nursing fathers to them; granting them ample room for settlements; freely assisting them with the means of living, at easy rates; manifesting, thro' a long course of years, a strict care and fidelity in observing their treaties, and fulfilling their other engagements; which there is the greatest reason to conclude would still be the case, in every part of the continent, if the same equitable and kind measures were pursued.

Upon the whole, it is a matter of undoubted persuasion, with impartial people, who have been conversant with Indians, that if their dispositions and natural powers are duly considered, they will be found to be equally with our own, capable of improvement in knowledge and virtue, and that the apparent difference between us and them, is chiefly owing to our different ways of life, and different ideas of what is necessary and desirable, and the advantage of education, which puts it in our power to gloss over our own conduct, however evil; and to set theirs, however defensible, in the most odious point of light.

Much

Much of their blamable conduct, now complained of, is certainly imputable to a long continued train of fraudulent and corrupt practices, in our intercourse with them, especially, the fatal introduction of strong drink, of which they have often complained,* and desired it might not

* At the treaty at Carlisle, in 1753, the Indians say, "The Rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such quantities. We desire it may be forbidden, and none sold in the Indian country; but that if the Indians will have any, they may go amongst the Inhabitants, and deal with them. When these Whiskey traders come, they bring 30 or 40 Kegs, and put them before us, and make us drink, and get all the skins that should go to pay the debts we have contracted, for goods bought of the fair trader; and by this means, we not only ruin ourselves, but them too.

" The wicked whiskey tellers, when they have once got the Indians in liquor, make them sell their very clothes from their backs. In short, if this practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined. We most earnestly, therefore, beseech you to remedy it."

We find an early record, in the History of New-Jersey, to the credit of the people of that day, That at a conference they held with the Indians, where 8 Kings or Chiefs were present, the speaker expressed

not be brought amongst them, by which instead of allaying the ferment of corrupt nature, by a good example, and the good instruction, which our superior knowledge would enable us to give them, too many have been instrumental in working them up to a state of distraction, which when it has burst forth in vengeance upon ourselves, is made a pretence for destroying them, as tho' they were wholly the aggressors.

That Indians may be tempted or provoked to the perpetration of great evils, by the intemperate love and use of strong liquors,

express'd himself to the following effect: " Strong liquors were sold to us by the Sweeds and by the Dutch; these people had no eyes, they did not see it was hurtful to us; that it made us mad. We know it is hurtful to us. Nevertheless, if people will sell it to us, we are so in love with it, that we cannot forbear; but now there is a people come to live amongit us, that have eyes; they see it to be for our hurt; they are willing to deny themselves the profit, for our good. These people have eyes, we are glad such a people are coine, we must put it down by mutual consent. We give these 4 belts of wampum——to be a witness of this agreement we make with you; and would have you tell it to your children."

liquors, is easily conceived ; but whether they, who, to gratify the cravings of sordid avarice, furnish them with the intoxicating potion, and then take advantage of their situation, to impose upon them, and tempt them to evil, are not principally accountable, for the crimes they commit, and their consequences, is not a query worthy of their most awful consideratton.

Had the views of the inhabitants of the colonies, been more just and wise, and their conduct towards the Natives regulated by a benevolence worthy of the Christian Name, every reasonable purpose of settling in their country, might have been fully accomplished, and they at the same time become, generally, as well civilized, as those few who were under the care of the Moravians, at the Muskingum.

The accounts of the wicked policy and cruelties exercised by the Spaniards upon their Indians, we read with horror, without considering how far ourselves are in a degree guilty of something of the same.

How many peaceable Indians, residing amongst us, have formerly as well as lately, been murdered, with impunity,

to satisfy the rage of angry men, tho' under the protection of the law, without any attonement being made.*

What destruction both of Indians and others, thro' a violent infringement on what they apprehended to be their rights. What dreadful havock has the desire of gain made amongst them, by the sale of spirituous liquors, &c. &c. Surely this must be accounted for, when an inquisition for blood takes place. Indeed interest, as well as duty, should induce the people, in general, to endeavour the bringing the Indians off from those false habits and prejudices, which are as obstructive to their own happiness, as they are dangerous to ours.

To what degree of distress, a few Indians can reduce a country, let the Annals of New-England testify, particularly by the long and distressing wars with the Eastern Tribes, † who upon the making

* At the Conestogo Manor, Lancaster town, and several other instances.

† D. Neal, speaking of the occasion of this war with the Eastern Indians, 2d. vo' page 24, says, " That the Europeans cheated the Na-

ing a peace with them, were found to be so small a number, that it occasioned the celebrated Cotton Mather, to take up the following lamentation: "Surely
 " we had smitten the whole army of the
 " Indians, that fought against us, twenty-
 " three years ago, from one end of the
 " land to the other; only there were left
 " a few wounded amongst them in the
 " east, and now they have risen up, eve-
 " ry man, and have set the whole coun-
 " try on fire. Certainly a more humbling
 " matter cannot be related. Moreover, is
 " it not a very humbling thing, that when
 " about an hundred Indians durst begin a
 " war upon all these populous colonies, an
 " army of a thousand English raised, must
 " not kill one of them all, but instead there-
 " of, more of our soldiers perished by sick-
 " ness and hardships, than we had ene-
 " mics in the world. Our God has hum-
 " bled

Natives in the most open and bare-faced manner imaginable, and treated them like slaves. The Indians were not insensible of this usage; but were afraid to do themselves justice, till they heared that all New-England was involved in a bloody war, when they plainly told the English, they would bear their insults no longer."

" bled us. Is it not a very humbling
 " thing, that when the number of our ene-
 " mies afterwards increasing, yet an hand-
 " ful of them should, for so many sum-
 " mers together, continue our unconquered
 " spoilers, and put us to such vast charges,
 " that if we would have bought them for
 " an hundred pounds a head, we should
 " have made a saving bargain of it.
 " Our God has humbled us." *

What an instructive lesson may the rulers of government, and the people, gather from this pathetic lamentation; how ought it to induce us diligently to labour for the maintenance of Peace and Friendship with all our Indian neighbours.

How ought we to look up to God, the common Father of the family of mankind, requesting he would enable us to sow the seeds of Benevolence and Mercy, carefully avoiding those of War and Destruction.†

It

* Hutchinson, vol. 2, p. 4, says, "The province of Massachusetts, in the course of sixty years, hath been at greater expence, and hath lost more of its inhabitants, than all the other colonies upon the continent."

† Ibid. page 307. " Every person almost, in the

It was, very probably, the want of such a care in the people of New-England, particularly in the lamentable destruction of the Pequot Indians, tho' perpetrated many years before, which produced the grievous crop of calamity and distress here complained of; for however time and changes may veil past transactions, and remove them from sight, and the remembrance of men, yet they will remain, as present, in the view of *Divine Purity*; and whilst unrepented of, will, tho' covered, as with dirt and dross, remain as engraven on a rock, which when the overflowing stream prevails, and that time of general inquiry, comes, when secret things shall be revealed, will appear as a testimony against transgressors.

The Annals of New-England informs us, that the first settlers met with kind treatment from the Natives, even when they were few, and so sickly, that in the first winter, one half of their number died.

Hutchinson,

the two colonies, had lost a relation or near friend."

Hutchinson, observes, " That the
 " Natives shewed courtesy to the Eng-
 " lish, at their first arrival; were ho-
 " spitable, and made such as would eat
 " their food, welcome to it, and readily
 " instructed them in the planting and cul-
 " tivating the Indian Corn. Some of the
 " English who lost themselves in the woods,
 " and must otherwise have perished with
 " famine, they relieved and conducted
 " home."

It was about fifteen years after, when the settlement on the Connecticut river, was making speedy advances towards the country of the Pequots, that differences arose between those Indians and the English ; some traders were killed, whether thro' the fault of the Indians, or White People, is uncertain, as each blamed the other ; the Indians, however, shewed a great desire to maintain peace between them and the English, for which purpose Neal observes, " They twice sent depu-
 " ties to Boston, with presents," which might with patience and forbearance, thro' the blessing of God, have been improved ; but the English insisting on the delivery of the persons concerned, which the Indians delaying to comply with, perhaps for want of power, the English fell

" fell upon them, slew several, firing their
 " wigwams, and spoiling their corn, &c." which enraged the Indians to such a degree, that, giving up their endeavours for peace, they attacked the fort on Connecticut river; slew several persons; and carried away two maidens, who were afterwards returned. Upon this, the different New-England governments concluded to unite their forces, to destroy those Indians; which was so effectually done, that Captain Underhill, who was a principal Commander in that expedition, in his book intitled *News from America*, page 2, tells us, " Those Indians, the Pequots, were drove out of their country, and slain, by the sword, to the number of fifteen hundred souls, in the space of two months or less; so as their country is fully subdued, and fallen into the hands of the English."

Hutchinson says, " This was the first action between the English and Indians; the policy, as well as the morality of which, he observes, may well be questioned." And he adds, " The Indians have ever shewn great barbarity to their English captives; the English, in too many instances, have retaliated it. This has only enraged them the more. Besides,

" to destroy women and children, for the
 " barbarity of their husbands, cannot be
 " easily justified. Many of the captives
 " were sent to Bermudas, and sold for
 " slaves." *

This account of the destruction of the Pequot Indians, is by no means intended as a reflection on the people of New-England ; sensible, that it is now long since many amongst them, have been foremost in furnishing instances of the blessing attendant on the extension of friendly measures, and a commendable care for the civil and religious welfare of the Indians ; as well as they have of late years, shewn an exemplary and praiseworthy concern for doing justice to the oppressed Africans : but only for this necessary purpose, that the dreadful experience of former times, may be, as instructive cautions in our future transactions

* Neal, page 23, observes, relating to those Pequot Indians, " That they made a noble stand against the united force of New-England, and would certainly have defended their country against the encroachment of the English, if the Narragansets, their inveterate enemies, had not assisted the English to destroy them."

actions with our Indian neighbours, in the several settlements now likely to be made on lands belonging to them, or claimed by them. Indeed we cannot be too weighty in considering how we lay our foundation for future happiness or misery ; as our Saviour's declaration will be verified often, in time, and certainly in eternity : *That as we sow we shall reap ; and with that measure we meet, it shall be measured to us again.* And altho' the children are not accountable for the iniquity of their fathers ; yet where the children are basking and rejoicing in the ease and plenty they enjoy thro' the sins of their fathers, as is peculiarly the case of those, who are possessed of estates procured by hard measures towards Indians, or thro' the oppression of the Negroes ; these as they rejoice in those possessions, which the S I N has produced, cannot expect otherwise than, *to be partakers in the P L A G U E.*

Upon the whole, if the peace and safety of the inhabitants of our wide extended frontiers ; the lives and welfare of so many innocent and helpless people, depends on the maintenance of a friendly intercourse with our Indian neighbours,

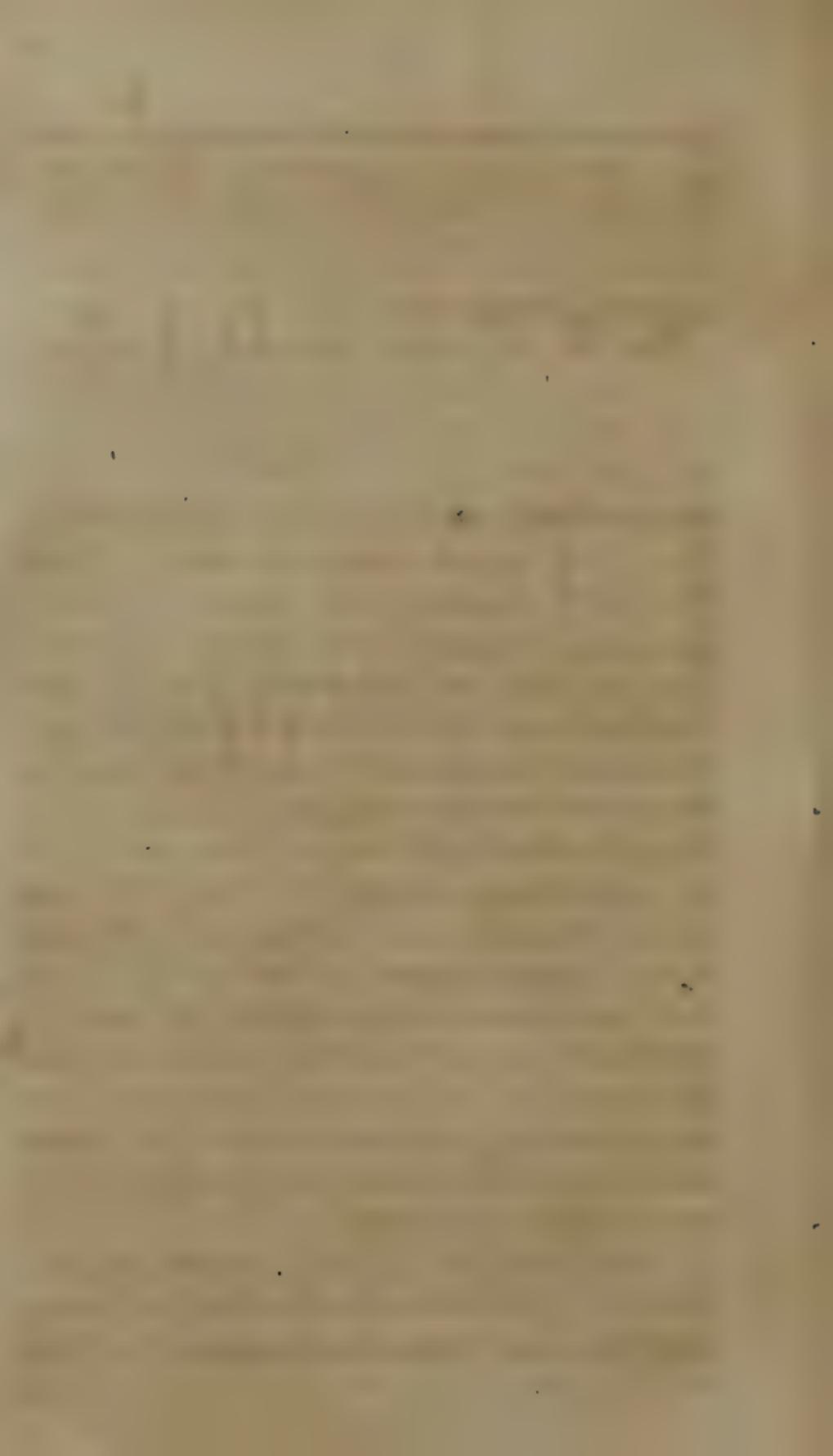
bours, what greater instances of patriotism, of love to God and mankind, can be shewn, than to promote, to the utmost of our power, not only the civilization of these uncultivated people, whom Providence has, as it were, cast under our care; but also their establishment, in a pious and virtuous life. On the other hand, what greater injury can be done to our country, than to diffuse, amongst the thoughtless part of the people, a disposition, and promote a conduct, tending not only to deprive us of the advantage, which a friendly intercourse with them may produce; * but by raising their enmity

* As it is expected that measures are now taking to procure a free communication with the Indian Country, whereby an extensive trade with the Natives will probably take place, and which, under proper regulation, may prove very beneficial, or the contrary, if left to the management of the Traders, who have generally no other view but gain. Is it not an object worthy the peculiar notice of the different Legislatures, that a special guard be had against the evil consequences which will certainly attend, if an effectual restraint is not laid on the introduction of spirituous liquors, and other abuse, amongst the Indians.

mity and wrath, expose the country to those grievous calamities, which an Indian war often has, and will again, undoubtedly produce.

APPENDIX

E 2





A P P E N D I X.

I N an historical account of General Boquet's expedition against the Ohio Indians, published under his inspection, in 1765, we meet with a list of the fighting men of the different Indian nations of the northern and southern districts of North-America, amounting to fifty-six thousand, five hundred and eighty, consisting, chiefly, of such Indians as the French were connected with in Canada and Louisiana.

This account we are there told may be depended upon, so far as matters of this kind can be brought near the truth, being given by a French trader of considerable note, who had resided many years amongst the Indians.

The publisher of that account, a person of reputation, now in this city, who has for many years made matters relating to

to Indians his particular study, tells us; " That so large a number of fighting men may startle us at first sight; but the account seems no where exaggerated, excepting only that the Calawba nation, (mentioned in the list to be 150 gun-men) is now almost extinct.

In some nations which we are acquainted with, the account falls, even short of their numbers; and some others do not appear to be mentioned at all, or at least not by any name known to us: Such for instance, are the lower Greeks, of whom we have a list, according to their towns. In this list their warriors or gun-men are 1180, and their inhabitants about 6000. Thus a comparative judgment may be formed of the nations above-mentioned; the number of whose inhabitants will (in this proportion to the warriors, viz. five to one) be about 283000."

From the above account of the number of Indians known to us, besides those we are unacquainted with, how important must it appear, to every sensible feeling mind, that a friendly intercourse be maintained with them, as well from our duty as Christians, as the great advantage which would arise from a well regulated trade; and the dreadful distress and sufferings,

ferings, which a disagreement with them might bring upon so vast a number of helpless people, on our long extended frontiers.*

In

* To those who profess that peaceable principle, which implies a full reliance upon the Divine protection, the number, or apparent power of any adversaries is of little weight.

But it is to be observed, these are quotations from authors, not of the same peaceable profession, and are therefore considered as proper to inform those readers, who, not grounded in this peaceable uniting principle, are of *contrary sentiments*, of the necessity they are under, even as prudent men, *upon their own principles*, to conciliate the friendship of the natives.

The common assertion, that if friendly and pacific measures were alone pursued, the property of those so disposed, would become a prey to every invader. But this assertion cannot be allowed as valid, except we believe that "the Lord has forsaken the earth;" Ezek. ix 19. but, "if the Lord reigneth," Ps. lxxiii. 1. and "we fear his name, he will be a wall of fire round about us." Zach. ii. 5.

And whatever suffering is permitted to come upon any, on account of their fidelity to what they may think their duty requires, in the support of that peaceable government of Christ, *the encrease of which*, we are told by the prophet Isaiah, *there is to be no end*; as in the case of the Moravian Indians, it will be but as a deliverance from their troubles in this world, and of a more exceeding weight of glory, in that which is to come.

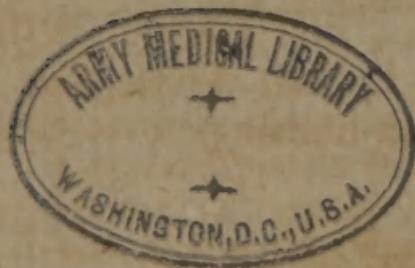
In the history of the British dominions in North-America, already mentioned, 2d. vol. page 68, we meet with the following instructive observations: "The perpetual increasing generations of Europeans, in America, may supply numbers that must in the end wear out these poor Indian inhabitants from their Country; but we shall pay dear, both in blood and treasure, in the mean while, for our injustice.

Our frontiers, from the nature of advancing settlements dispersed along the branchings of the upper parts of our rivers, and scattered in the disunited valleys, amidst the mountains, must be always unguarded and defenceless against the incursions of Indians.———The farmer driven from his little cultured lot, in the woods, is lost: The Indian in the woods, is every where at home; every bush, every thicket, is a camp to the Indian; from whence, at the very moment when he is sure of his blow, he can rush upon his prey. In short, our frontier settlements must ever lie at the mercy of the savages; and a settler is the natural prey to an Indian, whose sole occupation is war and hunting.

To

To countries circumstanced as our colonies are, an Indian is the most dreadful of enemies. For in a war with Indians, no force whatever, can defend our frontiers from being a constant wretched scene of conflagrations, and of the most shocking murders. Whereas on the contrary, our temporary expeditions against the Indians, even if successful, can do them little harm. Every article of their property is portable, which they always carry with them ; and it is no great matter of distress to an Indian, to be driven from his dwelling ground, who finds a home in the first place he sits down upon.”

F I N I S.



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